

PEACE NEWS

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What price salvation?

by LAURENCE HOUSMAN

"Thousands of Norwegian civilians are being driven southward from North Norway by retreating German troops, who are destroying and burning every town, village and farm, and shooting Norwegians who try to evade compulsory evacuation." (News Chronicle, Nov. 15.)

HERE is an up-to-date report of the misery and desolation (in one country alone) which the prolongation of totalitarian war is inflicting upon a friendly nation which we are still powerless to save; and worse is to follow.

The report goes on:

"People are forced to comply with German orders to evacuate, otherwise they are left without food or a roof over their heads; and the polar winter is already descending."

This is part of the price which other nations, without any responsibility for this war, which a conflict of Great Powers has brought upon them, are having to pay for the Allies' insistence on "Unconditional Surrender," which makes it quite certain that the war will be—not shortened but prolonged to the utmost limit of Germany's physical and moral powers of endurance.

Ruin of Holland

In Holland the consequences threaten to be even more devastating: "Military Necessity" is claimed by both sides alike for the flooding (and sterilizing for years to come) of extensive areas of Dutch territory; in the one case for the successful wresting of Walcheren from enemy occupation, in the other as the most effective means available for hindering the advance of our troops toward the German frontier.

In this country, what we have done is regarded as an act of liberation—what the Germans have done, or are about to do, as an atrocity outside the rules of war. Yet history tells us that the Dutch have done it them-

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

CHANGING HUMAN NATURE

EDWARD Hulton, proprietor of Picture Post and other papers, considers in his article "Thinking Aloud" (World Review, November, 1944) the various causes of war, and arrives at some conclusions which will be of interest to COs.

He does not hold the "one guilty nation" theory, for "Surely," he says, "there is innate in all nations still a desire for armed conflicts . . . The new progressive faith and religion which many thought would be born during this war, have not been born yet . . . It is downright silly people and silly ideas that are triumphing . . . (But) a superior minority can persuade the majority to mend their ways . . . Man's fundamental character can probably be gradually changed and improved, though this change can only be produced by . . . directing energy to a higher plane, and never by repression."

Hulton is not, like Shaw and Wells, thinking of organized COs, a minority whose aims and methods in promoting peace are nevertheless here finely expressed. Omitting all claim to be superior, we humbly believe that our movement is helping to bring the new and true faith to birth. Please support the HQ Fund for this purpose.

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A REVOLUTIONARY ISSUE IN THE WEST

IT is always rash for an Englishman to interpret the result of an American presidential election. It is better to leave it to the Americans. "Time," although its sympathies are Republican rather than Democratic, is very certain that Roosevelt's victory is a victory for American participation in collective security.

"No other man in US history had ever been invited by the US to live for 16 years in its White House. A majority of the US electorate had, for a second time, been willing to break an ingrained American tradition. It did so because it did not want to rock the boat in war-time, and because it had faith in Franklin Roosevelt. The big minority which had disagreed with him or distrusted him would have to trust the judgment of the majority." (Nov. 13.)

Since, according to the same judgment, "millions who voted for Dewey believed that they too were voting for the fullest international co-operation," we may take it that the political heir of Woodrow Wilson is in a much stronger position at home than the tragic President.

Economic problems

BUT there has been an unmistakable shift of the problems of policy in the intervening 25 years from the purely political to the economic. Roosevelt's political position is stronger than Wilson's; his economic problems are graver.

The impasse at the Air Conference shows how far away, when it comes to brass tacks, are the big interests of US from admitting any international control. The gulf between idealist profession and economic behaviour is revealed in the American combination of the renunciation of "the use of civil air transport as an instrument of national policy" and the demand for unlimited air competition.

This is of course a repetition, in the air, of the British policy of freedom of trade and freedom of the seas. It has now returned to plague the inventors, who have since, by experience, learned a little wisdom.

Russia's appeal

STILL, history does not really repeat itself. The apparent circle is always a spiral. The US is not in the simple position of 19th-century Britain; Roosevelt's position is more complicated than Wilson's. In 1918 the Allies were the undisputed masters of Europe; in 1944 Russia has emerged, after a fundamental revolution, potentially stronger even than the US.

Again we may take from Time a level-headed American view of the situation.

"Last week there was not a country in Europe or Asia where Russia's influence was not on the march. The influence was not due merely to Russia's military might. The Russian government, temporarily 'respectable', was permanently revolutionary. Its appeal, reaching far beyond its war fronts and frontiers, was in theory one of the noblest in the history of human life—nothing less than the freeing of mankind from want, fear and suffering. But to safeguard its purpose and focus its energies, it had organized one of the most resolute dictatorships the world had ever known, serviced by one of the most complex and efficient systems of secret police.

"In carrying its ideals abroad, it had developed a new tactic in power-politics—the appeal to the foreign masses to organize, conspire and finally to revolt against the dominant classes in their respective countries. The promise was that when the socialist organization of abundance was complete, the totalitarian State would dissolve of its own superfluousness in a new kind of classless democracy. To most Americans and Western Europeans this was the uncertain ideal, dictatorship the inescapable fact."

Issue in the West

THAT is, surely, a very fair statement of an undeniably complex matter on which passion and prejudice are exceptionally active. The only way of meeting the challenge and influence of Russia, Time concludes, is to find a practical way of reconciling economic security with political liberty, both in the nations and between the nations.

The imminence of that great issue

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

Observer's Commentary

Sir Arthur Eddington : a life-long pacifist

A tribute by DR. ALEX WOOD,

Fellow of Emmanuel College and University Lecturer in Experimental Physics, Cambridge; and Chairman, Peace Pledge Union.

BY the death of Sir Arthur Eddington the world of science loses one of its most distinguished workers. He made outstanding contributions to knowledge in many fields and brought together the study of stars and of atoms.

Nor was he a discoverer only. He had great gifts of exposition and both in lecturing and in writing he had a clear and lucid style with a singularly happy knack of choosing the apt simile and the appropriate illustration. It was sometimes said of him in criticism that he made his listeners and readers imagine that they understood a great deal more of his subject than was in point of fact the case. Would that the fault were more widespread!

He was a member of the Society of Friends (like his father before him), a man of deep religious conviction and a life-long pacifist. During the last war he was a conscientious objector, although very few of the tributes to his memory will mention this fact. The University applied for his reservation to enable him to continue the duties of the Professorship of Astronomy to which he had been elected in 1913 but he insisted on appearing before the tribunal as a CO. His particular tribunal was not very sympathetic to University teachers and his case took some time but fortunately for the reputation of the tribunal he was exempted "to continue in his present occupation."

He had a strong sense of vocation and took little part in public life because he found that it interrupted so seriously the work he felt specially qualified to do. But occasionally he was persuaded to descend from Olympus and deal with the affairs of men, whose behaviour, he always said, was so much more violent and unpredictable than that of the stars, with which he was normally concerned.

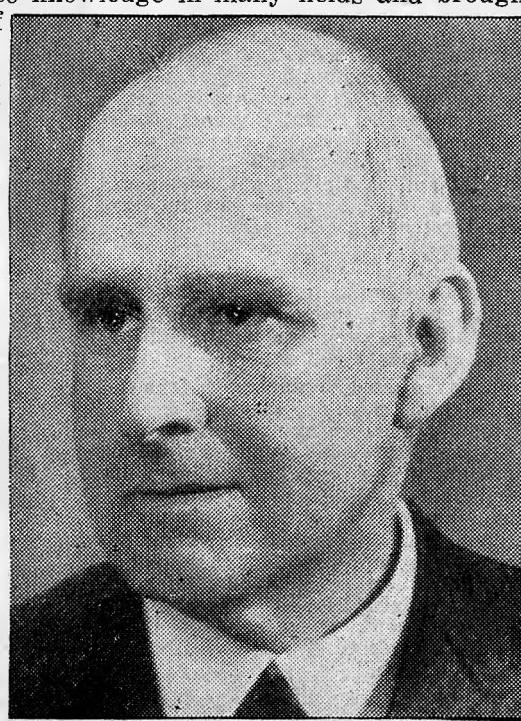
HIS PART IN THE P.P.U.

He took the chair for the Cambridge PPU at a memorable meeting in the Regal Cinema in 1938 and in 1941 he became President of the National Peace Council, an office which he held for two years. He took a keen interest in the work of the Council and presided at most of its meetings.

In 1942 he accepted the invitation of the Annual Général Meeting of the PPU to become a Sponsor. Although never seen at our gatherings he maintained touch with us by correspondence and followed our fortunes from afar.

Shy and retiring by nature, he was completely unspoiled by success and when his shyness had thawed he revealed himself as a very charming and unaffected companion. His charm came across both in his lecturing and in his writing and many who knew him only through his books will feel that they have indeed lost a friend.

(Sir Arthur Eddington on the pacifist faith—see page



Picture by courtesy of News Chronicle

DR. TEMPLE DEFENDED C.O.s' RIGHTS

DR. William Temple, the late Archbishop of Canterbury, "more than once . . . gave definite assistance to the Central Board for COs on issues which commanded themselves to his outlook on the obligations of the State to the person," reveals the Rev. Henry Carter in a tribute to him published in the November issue of the CBCO Bulletin.

"In the autumn of 1941," writes the Rev. Henry Carter, "when there was likelihood that COs might be prosecuted again and again for refusing successive medical examinations for the Army, he wrote the Minister of Labour supporting the proposal—to which effect was afterwards given—that a CO who in these circumstances was sentenced to three months' or longer imprisonment should be permitted to go again before a Tribunal.

"The action, in which he joined with us on this matter, had considerable results; 1,708 men had their cases reviewed in this way up to June 30, 1944, and 1,043 of them were recognized by the Tribunals as genuine COs, although earlier Tribunals had refused that recognition.

"He gave the strength of personal support to the ultimately successful effort to obtain a recognition of genuineness of conscientious objection in the case of Stanley Hilton who was five times court-martialled.

"In the spring of this year the Archbishop raised directly with the Minister of Labour the general question of COs who were threatened with third prosecutions after serving sentences for refusing medical examination for the Forces and disobeying a later direction."

(The CBCO Bulletin costs 3d.—by post 4d.—from the CBCO, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.)

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THE DEEPER UNITY

IT is of great importance for the future that pacifists should not lose imaginative contact with those who are fighting. In a letter, published in *Horizon*, some months ago, a young officer tried to describe his own condition, which he believed to be typical of many.

"I would suggest that there are two great components of our attitude towards our future. First, an ignorance of what we are fighting for which no amount of propaganda or religion will enlighten. We are not fighting for England in the charming Rupert Brooke sense or the stirring Newbolt sense. We are not fighting for democracy—many are temperamentally anti-democratic. We are not even sure that we are fighting for the eternal verities, as our fathers were—and are—so magnificently certain. Our standards of battle are banners without marks. But against that ignorance we have an obscure and (for us) quite inexplicable faith that to fight and to die is right, and perhaps the best thing we can do for this wretched world. Don't understand me to say that we believe war to be right as such: as you know, we detest and loathe it. Yet, for some reason, we are prepared to fight for something which we don't know, which we never can express.

"I have talked so much with friends in the same position, who face a probable death, trying to probe and analyse their attitude in order to understand my own, and always it comes back to the same dead end: we don't know, we don't even feel, we accept, and we know we must accept this extraordinary role which we must play, with an absence of bitterness which is inexplicable. There is no disillusionment, because there have been no illusions. We have faith, but no real Faith."

Of how many pacifists are the last two sentences also true? In our experience: of very many indeed. The imaginative fighter and the imaginative pacifist are but thinly separated. The pacifist is faced with a choice and a decision. A question of infinite moment is focussed in his separate and individual person. If I give way (he says) I shall have surrendered or violated the best I know—at this crucial and unique moment of time. Where the decision may lead me I have no idea. I have no idea whether, in fact, it will be of the faintest benefit to my fellow-men. But here I stand: I can no other.

Not essentially different is the choice of the imaginative and responsible fighter. He, by refusing to fight, will surrender or violate the best he knows. Nor is it lightly to be assumed that he has not thought as deeply on the nature and validity of the best he knows as the pacifist. That is not our experience, at any rate.

It is futile (and a good deal worse than futile) to imagine that the day will come when we shall be able to convince these men by an "I told you so." There is nothing that we can tell them that they do not know—except our dogmatisms. All that we have to say that is certainly true, they also acknowledge. Wars will cease when men refuse to fight. Of course. But the problem is right action in a world in which men do not refuse to fight. And an answer can be given only by the individual person, alone, and in his own integrity.

Having given it, it is not for him to feel or to say that he is right: but to know, in all simplicity, that indeed he could no other. Then, whatever his choice, it will be of some value to his fellowmen and to the future. Not because it was right: but because it was the act of a conscious and wholly responsible man.

Such acts—we may and must believe—are truly significant. By them (in ways we cannot foresee) future good is assuredly created. The acts may be here and now apparently anti-thetic: appearing to deny each other's validity. But the creative power of an act lies not in its objectivity: but in the spirit from which it came. Where there has been responsibility and integrity at the birth of acts in outward conflict, there is the potentiality of future harmony.

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Responsibility for Nazism is not solely German

I SHOULD like to thank Michael Mounsey, the writer of "Reflections of a Pacifist Prisoner of War," for giving us a bit of a shaking-up and bringing pacifists in this comparatively safe and comfortable part of the world into contact with realities. He certainly poses a question that none but the most disciplined of us will be able to answer satisfactorily.

Might I add the following thoughts which have been provoked by his article and your editorial. Please understand, I have no desire to detract from the significance of his words or yours.

It seems to me that the article in question underlines the necessity of disciplining our judgment, so that when we stand before reali-

LETTERS

ties such as the author describes, we will come up to Christian standard in our reactions. We shall try to apportion blame justly and not allow our emotions full sway. We shall see that, for instance, the foreign policy of Britain (and other countries) greatly contributed towards the creation of conditions which were fertile for the growth of Nazi sadism in Germany and shall therefore convince ourselves of our own share in those atrocities.

We shall also never let ourselves forget the barbarity of the Allied food blockade which starves and tortures men, women, and children indiscriminately. We shall see, in this, the method of siege carried to perfection by Britain in the last war; and who knows but that this helped to sow the seeds of Nazi barbarism? We are not all active agents in this damnable business, but it is carried out in our name; and our pacifist faith has not yet broken it. Therein lies our failure even to humanize warfare. We have not "leavened the lump" yet, so we must share responsibility with our blockade-supporting friends.

If the war does not soon end, our blockade will presently be starving German women and

children and there will be the tendency to shirk responsibility again. "The Germans can end the blockade by giving in," and there the matter will end. But as long as the present German government exists, the ordinary man in Germany, however impoverished, starved, blasted, and bereaved, has no voice unless he wishes to end up on the block.

Let us also see our responsibility in the creation of this totalitarian State. To pretend that British foreign policy (1918-1939) and the lack of Allied peace aims during the present conflict have not had their share in shaping the government of Germany and the actions of that government, is to live in fool's paradise.

It is doubtless a lamentable sight—Germans worshipping a man like Herr Hitler—and their lack of critical political thought is a tragedy of the greatest magnitude. But how much better is British worship of the daily Press and where are the remarkable symptoms of British original thought?

Having seen this whole picture in what to my mind is fairly true perspective, let us not by any means condone these barbarities wherever we find them, nor let us absolve, irresponsibly, the active agents. The whole of humanity is in dire need of sound psychological treatment and in particular those people who have been directly responsible for atrocities: but retribution and absolution belong not to our sphere. We should do well to try our utmost to leave both severely alone.

HUGH FARQUHAR
c/o 112 Berkeley St., Scunthorpe, Lincs.

Canterbury scene

Was the eulogy of the late Archbishop justified? Strangely enough doubters can echo Peace News in "when the time came when the word could and should be spoken . . . he would speak it." Yes, a benevolent smile from top of the fence in the pacifist thirties, a remorseless assent to obliteration-bombing in the revengeful forties, and why not a fatherly blessing on generosity in the disillusioned fifties? We shall never know, but the khaki of the Buffs contrasting with the religious robes of the eminences around the bier, leave little room for doubt. All Canterbury scenes have not this august setting.

One was set in the detention barracks. The cell is tiny, the window broken, the prisoner clad in summer drill. The same month, October, sees two pass from the stage. One to revered memory, the other to Maidstone goal. Ninety days had followed thirty days, now follows a year. It must be agreed the prisoner

Words of Peace—101

A situation comparable to that which the war has produced has never before appeared in history. The losses in human life and property, great as they are, are small evils compared to the undermining of morals and the lowering of standards of culture and civilization. A never-ending sequence of crimes is in progress, each paving the way for others. For this, the victors decline any responsibility, and lay it all on the shoulders of the vanquished, although a share should be accepted by each of the nations involved.

The harm done by the war, however, has already been much surpassed by the harm done in peace, and every day Europe is becoming more unsettled, more disordered, more fretted with the unnatural limits dictated to the defeated nations by the terms of peace, or, as Clemenceau said, the terms of war. So, too, in the case of the new governments, many of which have been absurdly and arbitrarily created.

—Francesco Nitti, "The Decadence of Europe" (American edition, Holt, 1923).

could have had the ministrations of Cantuar's representative, but chaplains often find prisoners ungrateful. Continued detention may have dimmed the prisoner's assurance that such are "on the side of the angels." Moreover no copy of PN is at hand to insist that the Archbishop believes in his "right to existence." Perhaps his claim to be "Christian" instead of "otherwise" does not recommend him to the Church's care.

Can it indeed be possible for two Christians to pass from the same scene by such contrasting ways?

E. J. THEOBALD

Maidstone.

"Vansitlerism"

A clerks making out my book account wrote out the pamphlet title "Commonsense VANSITLERISM": I think her coined word rather delicious and I think she was quite unconscious of it.

JOHN S. SUMMERS

Acheson House, Canongate, Edinburgh, 8.

WILFRED WELLOCK replies to the question :

CAN THE MACHINE HELP TO RESTORE "THE RIGHT TO CREATE"?

I MUST confess that John Middleton Murry's comments on my article of Nov. 17 rather surprised me, as I have given specific answers to all his questions in various Peace News articles, and to most of them in "A Mechanistic or a Human Society?"

Obviously a further statement is necessary, and this I will make in specific, categorical terms:

1. I do not desire to return to the pre-machine age.

2. I believe in utilizing all natural forces such as water-power, steam, gas, electricity, also machinery, for right ends: the elimination of donkey-work and facilitating qualitative production.

3. I fully realize that while craft dominated production in the pre-machine age there was much drudgery.

4. I also realize that in the best regulated society there will be some degree of drudgery.

5. I claim that such a society will aim at using natural forces and machinery in order to attain the maximum of creative activity and production.

6. I further claim that such drudgery as still remains should be done in short spells and be shared by the whole community, which could easily be arranged under a regional economy, which I regard as a vital condition of a true democracy.

7. The abolition of the saw-pit by the use of the circular saw was in my view a justifiable use of machinery.

8. As regards weaving, I think there is a case for the hand-loom on aesthetic and even economic grounds in regard to many kinds of cloth, because the damage done to fibres by power-machinery is considerable.

Moreover it is most difficult to decide what is "economic" amid the waste of today, in peace no less than in war, the devastations of fashion as well as of guns, the high cost of "overheads," including numerous profits and needless transport, etc. Power-weaving still retains more craft than most industries.

What I advocate at this stage is the setting-up of small electrically-driven weaving plants to be run by the workers operating as guilds, who would produce their own designs and concentrate on quality production. But alongside these I would have

hand-spinning and hand-loom weaving, and allow experience, together with a gradual rise in artistic appreciation, to decide the future. I would take the same course in regard to boot and shoe-making, and I am convinced that the craftsmen would win, both as regards economy and health and comfort.

MORE HOME PRODUCTION

Moreover I think there is a strong case for transferring a considerable amount of production from the factory to the home, on creative and cultural grounds, since creative work is one of the highest forms of culture and thus intensely satisfying, while to see, use, and wear things produced in the home yields a peculiar satisfaction.

I now come to the question: "Do I look forward to a social regeneration through the creative use of 'leisure' made possible by the machine?" My answer is definitely "no," and for two major reasons.

A close study of the spiritual effects of modern industrialism and its product, total war, also of recent political developments and the present political situation, has convinced me (1) that the achievement of a creative society and a true democracy by means of an intelligent use of leisure is a forlorn hope; and (2) that no government within sight during the next twenty years is in the least likely to take steps to produce either a creative society or an effective democracy, but that economic stresses and the fear of revolution will drive Conservative and Labour governments alike in the direction of a mind-conditioned total State, which they will achieve with the lure of a high standard of living.

THE ONLY HOPE

I am aware of William Morris's despairing hope, but could he come back and witness the spiritual, social, political and military effects of mass-production during the half-century since his departure, I have no doubt as to what his present verdict would be. Just as Marx was unable to forecast the emergence of counter-revolution and the total State, so Morris was unable to see that mass-production would lead to total war and total peace, and that socialism, decadent and visionless, would be inveigled into

supporting both, in defence of a "high standard of living."

It is for these reasons that I advocate the creative revolution of small groups who have some understanding of the true nature of the times, and a vision of a good society. I for one can see no hope of the latter emerging by any other means. The emancipation movement in Russia to which I have recently referred elsewhere had nothing to do with "leisure"; it is a breakaway from the industrial system of Russia through the setting-up of small co-operative productive and distributive units. It is, therefore, profoundly significant.

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Negotiated Peace

MUCH more effective (than the Gestapo) as a unifying force is the fear of defeat and what may follow defeat," said The Times on July 8. If this was true then it is much more true today. The whole world, including Germany, now realizes that victory for the Allies is assured. The final victory seems to be further off than most people thought a short time ago, but the final result is not in doubt. There should also be no doubt that the fear of what is likely to happen following unconditional surrender, and of the various unofficial plans to punish and dismember Germany, is the driving force behind the continued stubborn resistance of Germany.

Men and women of both the Allied nations and of Germany continue to be killed and maimed, and whole areas devastated beyond hope of being reasonably habitable for many years to come because the German people see no hope of any reasonable future for themselves or their children following their unconditional surrender. They prefer to fight to the death rather than submit willingly to conditions of which they know nothing from any official source, but from unofficial sources quite a good deal. The more they know the more resolved they are to continue fighting whatever the consequences. The quality of fighting against such overwhelming odds would in other circumstances call forth our admiration.

Campaigning in such an atmosphere has, as one might expect, called for a change of emphasis. The previous emphasis on negotiation and agreement has given place to one demanding a statement from the United Nations in general and our own government in particular of terms of peace in which a nation defeated in the field might see some hope for the future, and seeing that hope be willing to lay down its arms.

"Unconditional Surrender" is not only folly but is likely to be judged by the historian as the worst crime of the war. It is directly resulting in more loss of life and more devastation than any other cause. As a direct result of our campaigning more and more people are coming to see it so.

SUPPORT FOR CAMPAIGN

Meetings throughout the country are continuing to receive support. In a few cases weather conditions have led to cancellation of open-air meetings, but there has been no falling-off in attendance at the meetings held. The actual interest is growing, and support comes from such unexpected sources as men of the Forces, ex-prisoners of war, men in hospital blue, and refugees.

The printing of new leaflets and pamphlets is always in a measure dependent upon the distribution of those already printed. A new pamphlet giving some facts of German democracy is in the course of preparation. The printing of this very much depends upon the reduction of our present stocks. There has been a falling-off in the sale of the pamphlet "A case for negotiated peace" and of leaflets. The pamphlet and leaflets are still relevant to the present situation and I hope that an effort will be made to clear these within the next few weeks.

H.H.

"IT'S STILL THE SAME" SAID SIR ARTHUR EDDINGTON

In 1940 the Ministry of Information published a leaflet containing extracts from articles or statements by Dr. C. E. M. Joad, Bertrand Russell, Dr. Maude Royden, and A. A. Milne, under the title "It's different now." The leaflet suggested that pacifists should abandon views they held previously and join in the war effort.

Sir Arthur Eddington was one of four equally prominent pacifists who explained in Peace News on Nov. 8, 1940, under the heading "It's still the same," why they had not abandoned their faith. The four contributions were also published in leaflet form by the PPU. Here is Sir Arthur's statement:

I HAVE found in the events of the last twelve months no ground for any weakening of my pacifist convictions.

It has become clearer than ever that the choice is between pacifism and a drastic militarization of the nation (continuing in peace-time) such as few would have contemplated two years ago.

It is those who thought an intermediate course was practicable who have been disillusioned. They have seen that nowadays war-preparedness is a peril rather than a security,

if it is not carried to such a pitch that the resources, the liberties, and the whole mind of the nation are surrendered to it as in the countries against whom we pit our strength.

★

The faith of a pacifist must, I think, continue to rest on idealism or religious conviction rather than on any claim to political foresight; at least it is not for me (more familiar with the orderly ways of stars than the vagaries of men) to say what would have been, and may yet be, the outcome of a pacifist policy.

But now that we see more definitely to what end the alternative is leading, there is the less reason to doubt that the idealist policy is also the most practical policy.

Palestine reporters reply

The statement in The Economist, quoted by "Observer" in Peace News a fortnight ago, that the Palestine correspondents of Britain's daily newspapers had "tended to play down the degree of tension that prevails" is disputed by the Jerusalem correspondents of the Exchange Telegraph, United Press, Daily Express, Daily Herald, News Chronicle, and Daily Telegraph.

In a letter cabled to the Editor of The Economist and published on Nov. 18, they declared:

"This grave reflection on their" (the correspondents') "personal and national professional integrity is easily disproved by reference to any London newsroom. In wartime, news is rationed as well as censored, and this no less than the paper shortage explains the insufficient space given by the London Press to the activities of the terrorists, if such indeed is the case. As far as the undersigned are concerned they have cabled every word authorized for publication with such comment as was permitted. They have no more sought to underplay the lunacy of the gang of Jewish terrorists than to overplay the treachery of parachutists dropped from enemy aircraft."

THE Rev. J. C. S. Chamberlain, of Shooters Hill, has received "many parcels of comforts and very many sums of money amounting to over £300... as well as very many letters of sympathy" in response to his appeal in his parish magazine for comforts for sick German prisoners in a local hospital.

"I am sending nearly all the money and most of the comforts to the International Red Cross to be used for sick German prisoners generally," wrote Mr. Chamberlain in a letter to the Kentish Independent recently.

"It is tremendously encouraging to have this evidence that after five years of war the spirit of chivalry, decency, and human sympathy towards captive and sick opponents is still very much alive in our land. (The response follows publicity given to the appeal in the national Press—which also resulted in a vicar in Ipswich sending Mr. Chamberlain a tin of rat poison.)

The Greenford Pacifist Fellowship has been restarted, and its next meeting will be at 7.30 p.m. tomorrow (Saturday) at 588 Whitton Avenue West, Greenford, when the speaker will be Fred Hilium.

December 1, 1944, PEACE NEWS—3

THE LEAVEN AND THE LUMP

From a letter written to the General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union by Sir Arthur Eddington on May 7 this year:

I THINK our difficulty is that, besides being pacifists, we are all of us democrats. We know that we are a small minority, and it would be contrary to democratic ideals for the Government to give way to us rather than carry out the wishes of the majority on major issues.

It is the majority, not the Government, that we must convert, though we may try to begin the conversion of the people by converting their leaders. Thus I feel it an absurdity if I as a pacifist petition the Government to a course of action which I as a democrat must advise them to decline.

Our real problem is how a small minority can leaven, without ruling, the majority. We can do something to check the spirit of bitterness and callousness; and something to counteract the efforts to make the nation military-minded after the war.

MANY GIFTS FOR SICK GERMAN PRISONERS

DORIS ROPER LEAVES MANCHESTER

The whole of the PPU North-West Area, and Manchester Region in particular, have suffered a great loss in the departure of Doris Roper to work with Friends' Relief Service. She served both Area and Region as secretary for two years—having previously been asst secretary—and they have recorded their appreciation of her ability, devotion, and cheerfulness.

Herbert Lomax succeeds her in both secretariships.

Doris Roper was also one of those responsible for the success which Manchester Region has achieved with Peace News distribution, giving close attention to the many difficult details that arise in any such scheme covering hundreds of readers.

"CHRIST AND PEACE" MEETING

The devotional meeting entitled "Christ and Peace" which the former Council of Christian Pacifist Groups held annually on or near Armistice Day, is this year being held during Advent. Details are announced in our advertisement columns by the new Pacifist Council of the Christian Church—the body which has taken the place of the CCPG.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY
TERMS: Cash with order, except wanted toys help to brighten poor for series bookings. Copy by Monday. "village children's" Xmas. Gifts wel-
2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box comed. D. R. Gray, Shawthorne,
No. 6d. extra.) Maximum length: 50 Whitestone, nr. Exeter, Devon.
words. Address for Box No. replies: NOVELTY FACE CLOTHS, suit-
Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4. able for Xmas gifts. 1s. 8d. each.
H. H.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

ACCOMMODATION
FOR ALL properties to be let or sold in N.W. London and districts, apply to McCraith and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11 (Speedwell 9388, 5 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

WOMAN TEACHER seeks rooms Putney district, Box 716.

OXFORD—cottage or house wanted. Buy or rent. Preferably under 5 miles away. Box 717.

LIVING SPACE URGENT, young couple, flat, house in Tunbridge Wells, White, 14 Berkeley Rd., T.W.

DESPERATELY NEEDED: Unfurnished house or flat for young couple, Manchester district. Box 722.

C.O. ANXIOUS to arrange temporary refuge for wife and three small children away from rockets. Box 723.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate; Tel. Ambergate 44.)

FOR SALE AND WANTED
WAR RESISTERS' International would welcome gifts of foreign stamps, for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Please send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbe Rd., Enfield.

BINOCULARS, MICROSCOPES, projectors, etc., bought, sold, exchanged. Mention Peace News. Appleton, 215 Anglesey Road, Burton-on-Trent.

BURLS CYCLES now at 797 Old Kent Rd., S.E.15. New ladies' and paper 2s. 6d. postage 6d. The Order 5d. Repairs and accessories. Ring New Cross 4129.

LAMB BRAND Typewriter Ribbons. 30s. dozen. 18s. 6d. six, 10s. dom. Movement, 6d. together with other literature. Address: Hon. Sec., 21 Poplar Grove, New Malden, Surrey.

THE ONLY magazine devoted to India and the Colonies, "New Vision," autumn number now out. George Orwell, Rita Hinden, H. S. Polak, Arthur Wragg, Feliks Topolski; 9d. (10d. post free) or 3s. 6d. annual subscription from 12b, Manor-road, N.16. Why not send it as a Christmas gift?

MEETINGS, etc

"CHRIST AND PEACE." A devotional meeting: Canon Charles E. Raven, D.D., Rev. Henry Carter, C.B.E., Rev. William Robinson, D.D., Rev. Ingli James, B.D., at Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, W.C.2, Sat., Dec. 9, 3 p.m. Admission free, reserved seats 1s. Pacifist Council of the Christian Church, 38 Gordon Square, W.C.1.

MIDLAND PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP, Dec. 2, 3 p.m., Selly Oak F.M.H., Wilfrid Littleboy, "Co-operation with near-pacifists."

BOURNEMOUTH Post-War Reconstruction Group, 5 Wellington Rd., Fri., Dec. 8, 7.30 p.m., Christine Clement Brown: "Refugees and Re-settlement."

BIRMINGHAM CALLING. Conference on the need for a Pacifist Church. Friends' Institute, 220 Mosley Rd., Birmingham, 12; Sat., Dec. 16, 3 p.m. Speaker: Dr. A. D. Belden. Further particulars from Miss J. Tooke, 56 St. Helens Rd., Solihull, nr. Birmingham.

DOROTHY EVANS Memorial Meeting, Caxton Hall, Westminster, Sun., Dec. 3, 2.30 p.m.

PERSONAL

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp, Syc., PN, 19, Ty Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff.

PACIFIST PEN-FRIEND CLUB enables isolated pacifists to maintain contact through individual correspondence and exchanging of ideas on matters of mutual interest. Those interested please write A. J. Cook, 93 Melville Rd., Stonebridge Park, London, N.W.10. As scheme is voluntary, stamps etc. for postage expenses would be appreciated.

PACIFIST finds it necessary to dispose of holding 130 shares (£1 fully paid) in Goose Green Farm. Any offers to purchase whole or part at par? Box 715.

ADVERTISER WISHES to invest savings in a business or enterprise with a view to post-war employment. Immediate return not so important as future prospects, nor employment sought at present. Box 719.

MR. R. J. BAILEY thanks all senders of birthday cards received whilst serving a term of imprisonment. Please accept this acknowledgement, as they were too numerous to acknowledge personally, and my very best thanks.

JUPP. Will friends of Margaret and Audrey Jupp note new address—147a High St., Sevenoaks.

SITUATIONS VACANT

It is impossible to confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised in Peace News. Applicants in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for COs, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

ASSISTANT MASTER REQUIRED
JANUARY. Private Secondary School (boys). Mathematics and Science to School Certificate standard. Permanent post. Apply Headmaster, Halifax New School, Halifax, Yorks.

MEN feeling call to rebuild war's ravages are invited to join S.E. London firm on War Damage repairs houses schools at full rates, allowances, share of profits. Part-timers considered. Phone GRE 0670 evenings.

BURGESS HILL SCHOOL, Cranleigh, Surrey, requires January (a) Junior school teacher, (b) two staff for cooking and catering. Apply Secretary.

SHORTHAND - TYPIST SECRETARY wanted Headquarters P.P.U. Apply General Secretary, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

PLASTERERS, other Tradesmen and Labourers required for South and North London house repairs. Ring GUL 2065. Stewart and Richards, Ltd., 34 Glenhurst Ave., N.W.5.

BOARD AND LODGING, small remuneration, offered in return for part-time work, care of poultry, shopping etc. Suit man or woman C.O. in need of temporary home. Apply Blue Idol, Coolham, Sussex.

TWO VACANCIES occur for men or women with yarn merchant in North Midlands. (1) Invoice typist-bookkeeper; (2) Shorthand-typist. Both offer permanency and good prospects. Apply C.B.C.O. Employment Section, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

PRIVATE SECONDARY SCHOOL in Chester requires male or female teacher of French, History, Geography, English and Elementary Mathematics to School Certificate standard. Duties to commence January 1945. Full particulars to Box 727, 721.

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TYPEWRITING, DUPLICATING of every description, manuscripts, youth programmes, mailing service. Price list on application. Box 720.

C.B.C.O. EMPLOYMENT SECTION would be glad to hear of any vacancies in agricultural research work 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

C.O. (LAND CONDITION) desires school post as gardener-music teacher. Accommodation needed for self, wife and baby. Wife experienced large-scale catering. Box 725.

PACIFIST SEEKS EXPERIENCE in vegetable and fruit growing, bee-keeping, poultry, etc. Wife (driving, housekeeping, secretarial, social work) willing work part-time or find work out. Box 726.

MISCELLANEOUS

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MR. R. J. BAILEY, M.S.F., 134 Hoppers Rd., Winchmore Hill, N.21, has been sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment for refusing to obey a Ministry of Labour direction. During his absence his father, Mr. R. Bailey, who has worked with his son, will carry on the practice. (PALMERS Green 7368.)

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FOR YOUR winter entertainments, parties, concerts, etc. Conjuror and ventriloquist. Birmingham area. Box 727.

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

hangs like a vague thunder cloud over Western Europe. The storm is gathering again. It came to a head ten years ago with the formation of the Popular Front in France. But nothing decisive happened. The storm faded away into the different storm of the world-war.

But there was a connexion. Western Europe has become more revolutionary. And although the Resistance movements are not quite the same as the Popular Front, there is a substantial continuity between them.

Popular Front governments

A POPULAR Front government is said to be immediately probable in Belgium (Sunday Times, Nov. 26). It is perhaps unlikely that the British military authorities will try to prevent it. If they did, it would be disastrous. Genuine popular front governments are the very best that can be hoped for from the confused and dangerous situations in the liberated countries. If the British Government knows its business, it will seek to encourage them; for only through them can a wave of out-and-out Communism in Western Europe be anticipated and prevented from issuing in civil war.

It would certainly be morally topsy-turvy if the Communists were able to present themselves as the leaders of what have been essentially movements of *national* resistance. Yet this is what will happen if the Allied military authorities try to prevent the Resistance movements from exercising a legitimate control over their governments.

East and West

TO assume that the Communist sections of the Resistance movements are always in the right, all over the world, from China to Belgium, as The New Statesman seems inclined to do, is not only unwarrantable, but in bad taste as coming from the progressives in a democratic country. Until it is clearly shown that the primary loyalty of Continental Communists is to their own country and not to Russia, the only decent thing for an Englishman to do is to suspend judgment.

Indubitably, the war has caused a swing of opinion in favour of radical social change in the occupied countries; but it is almost certainly in favour of indigenous, self-controlled "revolution." But the balance of forces is delicate; and the opportunities for political blundering by military authorities interested primarily in "law and order" are considerable.

"A situation in which the Western Allies might be suspected of intervening against the Communist parties in Western Europe and the Russian Command of fostering Communist governments in Eastern Europe might have disastrous consequences. But unfortunately there are signs that things may drift in that direction." (Economist, Nov. 25.)

A British government can do nothing about Eastern Europe. In the West the only sensible thing is to encourage the formation of Popular Front governments, in which honest collaboration is required from the Communists. They have not hitherto been distinguished for that.

Security and freedom

THE same issue—reconciling political liberty with economic security—faces us here in Britain in a less revolutionary form.

At present public discussion is largely incoherent. Employers and workers alike are demanding old freedoms and new securities: the employers, prices guaranteed by the State, yet with the old immunity from State-supervision of their finances and their profits; the workers, security of employment at fixed wages, yet with the old freedom to fix conditions of work in their trades and to insist on work in their own trade and place.

From these postulates progress is impossible. In general the proposition is that the greater the security, the less the freedom.

Need for responsibility

THE two attitudes are products of the same kind of mentality. Consequently, the two parties are natural conspirators against society as a whole. Any combination between them which evades social control must be a combination of producers against consumers. But they themselves are also consumers: the industrialists of

HUNGER ABROAD—AND PLENTY AT HOME

DESPITE the existence in this country of large civilian food reserves and the increasingly desperate plight of the people of occupied and liberated Europe, large supplies of food from overseas are still coming to Britain.

Over 63,000 rabbits, 11,756 cases of poultry, and 25 tons of fish from Ireland have already arrived in Britain. First shipments of 1,000,000,000 Spanish oranges (185,000 tons) will reach this country from Spain before Christmas, and of 1,200,000,000 eggs to be exported from Canada next year it has been stated that "nearly all" are for Britain.

In the Daily Telegraph on Nov. 24, and later in the Manchester Guardian (Nov. 25) and Daily Herald (Nov. 27), Margaret Bondfield, writing on behalf of the Women's Group on Public Welfare—representing 46 organizations—protested that the recent statement by the Minister of Food on this subject "will not affect the feeling of many in this country that we who have been maintained in health by our present diet should not receive extra rations until the situation of our neighbours and their children on the Continent is eased."

EUROPE'S ORDEAL

Here is a summary of the latest information about the plight of Europe's children. It shows that the situation is in many respects growing worse and that Britain is hesitating to permit even the most obvious and urgent relief measures where previous policy decisions are involved.

NORWAY: About 250,000 Norwegian refugees in the North are starving (Daily Herald, Nov. 23). Prince Olav, C-in-C of the Norwegian Army, speaking in London on Nov. 20, said that "In general in Norway the food situation was worse than in any year since the beginning of the war" (Times) and paid a deserved tribute to Swedish aid. On Nov. 22 the Swedish Riksdag discussed Swedish aid to Norway. Sweden is willing to receive large numbers of refugees, and wishes to send a ship to Narvik with food and clothing, but replies to the request to the belligerents for the safe-conducts has not so far been received.

HOLLAND: "In Holland," said a Ministry of Economic Warfare official (Sunday Dispatch, Nov. 12), "the position is very much worse than was expected." A Dutch priest, Father Monchen, told a United Nations Information Office Press Conference a few days earlier that "the Dutch people have not had any fat, butter, sugar or meat for six weeks." He appealed for ships or for air-borne relief. In Eindhoven on Nov. 21 30,000 Dutch workers demonstrated demanding more food, and sent a petition to Queen Wilhelmina in London. But the response has been almost nil. Twenty tons of foodstuffs are to be flown daily to liberated Holland.

BELGIUM: M. Spaak evidently did not get much satisfaction from his talks with Mr. Eden. "If Belgium did not receive food from other countries," he said on Nov. 13, just

raw materials, the workers of the necessities of life. They will eventually discover that to exploit the community is to impoverish themselves; but it may be too late.

The only way forward is through an overall increase of production: which in turn in a free society must depend upon an overall increase of effective and socially desirable demand. This is the problem which Sir William Beveridge tackles in his book: which is, in the main, a detailed demonstration that the price of retaining essential liberties in an industrial society is to use them with a new responsibility.

So we may complement the abstract proposition: the more security, the less freedom, with one which more nearly touches the true predicament: the more responsibility, the more freedom. Can democracy become responsible enough?

Freedom of the Press

THE News Chronicle on Nov. 23 gave generous space to an appreciation of Sir Arthur Eddington by the Astronomer Royal, and paid its own tribute in the leader column. But at least three papers on that day—Daily Herald, Daily Mail, and Daily Express—failed even to report Sir Arthur's death.

One might have expected the Press to ignore the fact that this distinguished scientist was also a pacifist—though that in itself would be a poor comment on the impartiality of its news service; but it is even more depressing to feel that war-time "patriotism" may have reached a pitch where it inhibits newspapers from recording the death of a man whose contribution to the frontier-less world of thought was so outstanding.

before returning to Brussels, "she will be faced with a very serious situation before many weeks are over. Up to now she has not been able to obtain any help from the Allies apart from 4,000 tons of food provided from the reserves of the Allied armies." The Christian Herald (Nov. 16) reports that a Government spokesman told the Belgian Premier that the feeding of "hundreds of thousands of young Englishmen and Americans"—the military—must be a priority.

GREECE: "The food situation in parts of Greece is still tragic and grim, despite the Allies' relief measures" (The Times).

The children of YUGO-SLAVIA are in need of immediate Allied help. Tito acknowledges 40,000 tons of food from Russia and asks for British and American aid also. POLAND has appealed to UNRRA for immediate help—"there is a complete lack of medical supplies, food, clothing and the primary necessities of existence." The Polish Prime Minister—who has since resigned—asked for air-borne relief. Similar appeals are being made for the CHANNEL ISLANDERS. The Daily Mail declared on Nov. 22 that "Anything would be better than the supine policy of standing by while desperation deepens into tragedy." The Sunday Pictorial (Nov. 19) suggests that the Government has decided to send aid to the Islands and that "negotiations have begun with Berlin." Herbert Morrison "hopes to be able to say something when Parliament re-assembles." The only better news is of FRANCE: it is said that in Northern France town-dwellers are getting 2,000 calories a day (we get 3,000) and that transport between Brittany and Paris "where fats are very short" is improving.

LAURENCE HOUSMAN

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

selves more than once; and flood and fire and devastation have in the past been employed by all countries alike for the protection of their armies when in retreat. But whether done by friend or foe, for the Dutch people their disastrous effects are the same; the fertility of their land has been ruined—for how many years we cannot say.

Nor is this all the price which the countries of Europe must go on paying for a war as to the ending of which they are to have no voice. Through this coming winter they are threatened not only with under-nourishment, approaching possibly to semi-starvation, but also with a lack of fuel, lack of transport, lack of winter-clothing, lack in many districts even of roofs to cover them, except by compulsory over-crowding.

What the death-rate, due to this loss of the necessities of life will be, no-one can guess. Nor do we know—we should not be allowed to know—whether these victims of a war not of their own making have uttered any protest against a declared policy of ruthless persistence to a blind end, which is bound to prolong their sufferings, deepen their poverty through years to come, and destroy the health and lives of many more thousands of their populations—especially of their young children—than have already been sacrificed in this war.

Destroying a heritage

Nor have they any assurance that Germany's latest inventions in air-warfare are not going to bring further destruction upon their towns and cities, housing priceless treasures of art, and made beautiful by noble examples of the great periods of architecture which, in this age of mechanized civilisation, we can neither rival nor restore. On these wonderful monuments of "liberated" Holland, Belgium and France, destruction may yet be rained down on a scale past all possibility of repair.

And this is equally true of what we are doing in Germany—not to the works of a "Guilty Nation," but of a Germany which in the past was often our ally and with which we have no quarrel. We too have destroyed in Germany (and Italy also) countless examples of mediaeval art with which European civilization has been enriched. Old Nuremberg is down, and with it the house of Albrecht Dürer! Imagine what our feelings would be—what quenchless hatred for the doers of it, were a like fate to fall on Shakespeare's house and tomb at Stratford. Should we ever forgive?

And our rulers have the egregious conceit of believing that they are morally and spiritually capable of imposing a peace which can possibly compensate for a continuation of so vast a destruction of spiritual values bequeathed to us from past ages—a peace which will inevitably be poisoned by the utterly false assumption that for this war we share no responsibilities and no blame. Peace based upon such a lie can bring no salvation. The first and most elementary basis for a true peace is that we should have the honesty to share the blame.

Our Christmas offers

LAURENCE Housman is the author of the special Christmas Peace News Pamphlet, for which Arthur Wragg has drawn the cover.

It will be published NEXT WEEK.

Entitled "Big Powers and Little Powers," it consists of a parable and an essay pointing its application. Because of its special production, this pamphlet will be published at 2d., BUT it will be sent out to regular subscribers through PN distributors at the normal price of 1d., and will, we hope, be accepted as expressing the good wishes of Peace News to its readers and supporters.

You may care to use it as a Christmas card—it will have a blank first page suitable for inscribing your greetings. Additional supplies, AT 2d. EACH, may be ordered through your PN distributor or, SENDING CASH WITH ORDER, direct from either PPU Bookshop or Peace News.

★

The Christmas issue of Peace News itself, to be published the following week (dated Dec. 15), will once again be an enlarged issue (6 pages), with special features to make it particularly suitable for the season.

"Peace and good will" may seem very remote from this world today, but Christmastide brings them once more to the ears and hearts of men.

Take advantage of the fact by a wide distribution of this special issue. You can have EXTRA COPIES AT HALF-PRICE: send them with your Christmas cards, and to your local MP, clergy, and councillors.

Please order promptly from your distributor, or direct from the Publishing Dept., Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4—at a penny per copy, CASH WITH ORDER.

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